

LOYALTY VINDICATED.

Being an Answer to
A late False, Seditious & Scandalous Pamphlet

Entituled,

*A Letter from a Gentleman of the City of New-York to another,
Concerning the Troubles which happen'd in That Province
in the Time of the late Happy Revolution.*

Published for the sake of

Truth & Justice.

By a Heartly Lover of

KING William

AND THE

Protestant Religion.

BOSTON, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen: 1698.



LOYALTY Vindicated

From the Reflections of a Virulent Pamphlet called [A Letter from a Gentleman of New-York, concerning the troubles which happened in that Province, in the time of the late happy Revolution] wherein the Libellous Author falsely scandalises those Loyal Gentlemen, who courageously threw off the absolute Slavery that Province then lay under : and Declar'd for His present Majesty, the Protestant Religion, and the English Laws.

Although to name but the Authors of this Pamphlet, to give account of the time, manner, and design of its Publication, would sufficiently confute it ; and were it all Truth, take away its Credit : Yet I shall first by plain proof of Fact and Reason, disabuse whom it may have imposed on ; and then expose the Seducers themselves whose corrupt minds gave birth to this *Ignis fatuus*.

I know the Authors have triumph'd, that their Libel hath not hitherto been answered ; but they will have but little cause, when they consider it required some time to recover the damp and stunn given to honest minds, by the late corrupt Government of New-York that publisht it : and some time will always be naturally taken up for the exults of joy ; -that truth and honesty will now have their turn of being protected by Authority.

It was with great dread known, that the late King *James* was bound in Conscience to endeavour to Damn the English Nation to Popery and Slavery, and therefore no wonder (since he made such large steps to-ward

wards it in his Kingdom's) that he took a particular care of this Province, of which he was Proprietor, & at one jump leapt over all the bounds, & Laws of *English* Right and Government; and appointed a Governour of this Province of *New-York*, who (although he was a person of large endowments of mind yet) gave active Obedience to his Prince without reserve; and accepted of a Commission now on record in the Secretarys Office, giving him power with consent of any Seven of his Council to make Laws and to raise Taxes (as the *French* King doth) without consent of the People, (for the Council are no body, but whom he pleases to name, and therefore could represent nothing but the Kings pleasure) Hereby the will of the Prince became the Law; and the estates of the Subjects became the Kings property. And this Governour and Council were the tools to inflame their Country, who pursuant to their Commission did make Laws and Assessed Taxes accordingly, without any Representatives of the People, as appears by the Records of the Council book.

This *French* Government being thus (by Commission) introduced, it was natural that Papists should be employed in the highest Trusts; such as the Council, the Revenue, and the Military Forces; and since no Law was left alive to make them unequalled, therefore this Obedient Governour admitted major *Brockbols* and major *Baxter* into the Council; *Matthew Plowman* to be Collector of the Revenue, and said *Baxter* and *Russell* to Command Military Forces; all professed Papists to assist in making Arbitrary Placats, and forcing Obedience to them from a Protestant free People.

This was the condition of *New-York*, the Slavery and Popery that it lay under, until the Hand of Heaven sent the glorious King *WILLIAM* to break those chains, which would otherwise have fettered all *Europe*. And these were the reasons that moved the Gentlemen concerned in the Revolution of *New-York*, to be early in shaking off their Tyrants, and declaring for their Deliverer.

These things premised do make way for the answer to the bold Assertions of the Libeller, who had the Author Printed the Letter ten years before; viz. the time of the Revolution, he would have come under the penalty of spreading false News, which he in particular knows, in *Scotland* is call'd *Leising*, and deserves the death call'd the *Maiden*.

[Pag. 3] In the third page which is the first of the Letter, he declares that Jacob Leisler and his accomplices committed great disorders in the Revolution.

Insion. And was ever Revolution made without them? What, must the noxious humours of the body natural, be loosed and put a float, and very often with pangs and gripes, before the Medicament can officiate the discharge? &c must not the body politick suffer a Convulsion to pluck up Spiritual and Temporal Tyranny that was taking root in it? But I pray explain your self, was not the Revolution it felt the greatest disorder that could be given to you and the *Jacobite* party? and therefore you need not admire nor wonder that all those that have a good opinion of the Revolution, have so likewise of *Jacob Leister*, and other early Instruments of it in this Province: Nor is it a wonder that it should be credited, that the persons then in Commission in *New-York* were *Jacobites*, and persons ill affected to the Revolution (which now the Libeller dare not say otherwise than call happy) for their very Commissions from *King James* were expressly contrary to Law, and their persons unqualified to serve in any Capacity in any *English* Government, and so that as *Jacobites* (i. e. obeyers of *King James's* Arbitrary Government) and as Papists they must naturally be ill affected to the happy Revolution in *England*, and implacable Enemies to the well wishers thereof in *New-York*. The proof of this appears by the Printed account of the State of the Government of *New-York*, attested by the Records of *Sir. Edmund Andross*, *Coll Nicholson*, *Adambow Plowman*, major *Baxter* and *Bartholomew Russell's* Commissions; which are Evidence undeniable and point blank contrary to the Testimony of the Libeller, who calls himself a *personal witness*. But the Author was safe at the time of Publishing the Letter, for it was when the Province lay under the calamity (more then in any other age) of Licensing this Letter, which gives Authority for the palliating of Vice with false glosses, and of criminating the Actions of the most Just and Virtuous and pious persons, and when Truth and Innocency were strip'd of all defence against the malice, falsehood and calumny of *Col. Fletcher*, and his complying Council.

We are told the Lieutenant Governour and Council were *Protestants*, and perhaps they were; and so were *Friend*, *Perkins*, *Jefferys*, *Herbert*, Bishop of *Chester*, and *Brian Haynes* the player; therefore that is no infallible Test that they were well affected to the Revolution, if they had no other. But they resolved Thereupon to suspend all Roman Catholicks from Command and places of trust in the Government. Well resolved, though they did not perform it, as the Libeller afterwards owns. But what means the word [*Thereupon*] i. e. *King James* was fled into *France*,

the Prince of *Orange* was Arrived with considerable Forces in *England*; and by consent and voice of the Nation declared their Deliverer and King: and since King *James* could not stand by them, and the Arbitrary Commissions he had given them, and *Old England* would be sure to Command *New York*: *Thereupon they* &c. No thanks to them for their *Thereupon*. Besides if I am not mistaken, the execution of their Illegal Commissions (which they held as long as they could) and their fear of exasperations they had justly given to the People, by being Voluntary slaves to King *James* his Will, and Authorised to make all under them to be likewise so: (as the Devils would have all men Damnd with themselves.) For these reasons these faint resolves were made and ill executed. But we do not find that *Thereupon* they declared for the Prince of *Orange*, or the Protestant Religion. No, these Gentlemen had submitted so intirely to such a blind Obedience to their Prince as (notwithstanding their Profession) was never practis'd by any Christians, but the Papists; and think to hide their nakedness by the fig leaf of stirring a single Papist out of the Council, just as their Master King *James* did, when the Prince of *Orange* was landing; the Nations hearts alienated from him, and his standing Army likely to run over to the Prince: *Thereupon*, he restored the Charters of Corporations, and *Magdalen* Colledge of *Oxford*, and declared to call a free Parliament: Just with the same good will as these *New-York Thereupon-men*. [*Page 4.*] But it is notoriously false and known to be so by the Inhabitants of *New-York*, that *Thereupon* these disbanded Papists forthwith left the Province: For *Baxter* stay'd here several Moneths, not knowing whether it was a real Revolution or no; and *Ruffel* stay'd and dyed in *New-York*, but *Plowman* continued fix'd in the greatest Trust of Collector of the Revenue, being intrusted by the Protestant Lieutenant Governour and Council with the sinews of War in his management, who would be sure as a strict Papist to employ it in the service of a Protestant Revolution, from the same good affection with themselves.

To proceed, this Libeller names three Dutch Gentlemen of their Council, and tells you that but two of them were most affectionate to the Royal house of *Orange*, although Mr. *Phillips* (I believe) had the same affection with the rest: but the Libeller never tells you, that any of them were pleas'd. that the Prince of *Orange*, had rescued from mine our English Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion, and was become a Royal English King: which was but a small reward to Him for the Blessing

Blessing it gave us: he only tells us, that as *Dutchmen* they loved the Royal house of *Orange*: So, I presume the late King *James* doth, being tyed by blood thereto; although he wishes him far enough from *England*. I suppose those *Dutch* Gentlemen will give the Libeller some thanks for his remark on them. He adds, that the said Lieutenant Governor and Council Convened to their Assistance, all the Justices of the Peace and Civil Magistrates, and Military Officers. But they had quite forgot the *English* Constitution of calling the Representatives of the People: and whereas several of this Convention were the Persons that were pitched upon, and thought fit by the then Arbitrary Government to have Commission, Office and Power to enslave the Subject. No wonder the People did not think themselves safe in their hands, to be managed by the major Vote of such a Convention.

Neither was the first thing they ordered, viz. Fortifying the City of New-York, any wise satisfactory; since it was most proper that those persons who gave occasion for a Revolution, were most probable to make themselves strong to oppose it. And therefore Coll. *Bayard* made Coll. of the Militia by King *James*, was most liable to obey and execute King *James's* order, and an unsafe Security for the Fort; Especially having so often declared in Words, and Letters, under his own hand to Mr. *West &c.* That those who were in Arms for the Prince of *Orange* were Rebels. But it is absolutely false; that Coll. *Bayard's* industry fortified the Fort; for Capt. *Leister* opened the Well, which was closed up; he it was ordered the Batteries, that were made about the Town, he mended the Breast works of the Fort, as likewise the Platforms, and Powder Room; all which were in a miserable Condition: and these great works took up near a Twelve Months time, with Vigorous application and industry of the Inhabitants, after *Bayard* was out of the Power of betraying the Fort, which could never have been defended in the posture he kept it, with no Well open, nor any covering for it, defence or security for their Ammunition. Besides when the Militia Forces were on guard in the Fort, the Lieutenant Governor in Passion altered their Orders given by their Officers, and told them, if they gave him any farther trouble he would set the City on fire. This proved by the Depositions of *Albert Bosc & Henry Coyer*. [Pag 5.] And for their own sakes they appointed and continued the Revenue, as being very useful for men of any design: which makes nothing for their cause.

It matters not what Letters were sent home by the Lieutenant Governour, for it is plain neither Governour nor Council would declare for the Prince of Orange, pretending they wanted Orders; No, they wanted good will; for without Orders this Libeller pretends they turned out *Baxter* and *Ruffel* out of Commission. I wonder how they dared to go so far, and no farther. But no body but themselves know or care whether they Wrote or no, for it signified nothing, except to excuse themselves from declaring till an answer came, and they knew who was uppermost. I suppose they had a mind to stay to see who got the better in *Ireland*, before they would declare.

[*Pag. 6.*] A lying building must have a lying foundation, & therefore the Libeller says, *That Capt. Leifler unwilling to pay the Duty of his Wines, stirred up the People to Rebellion.* The case was thus, the Popish Collector *Plowman* was then continued in Office, and Capt. *Leifler* did, even with him, make Entry in the Custom house for his Wines, and engaged to pay the Customs to such as should be legally qualified to receive them; which the Papist *Plowman* was not.

And now the People being exasperated by the delay of the Governour and Council to declare for the Prince, the greater body of the Militia with their Officers, did Seize on the Fort, and did send and demand the Keyes from the Lieutenant Governour; and since they had taken the Government on them, they did Seize what Publick Moneys they could find; and took the *Seven hundred Seventy three Pounds* from Coll. *Nicholson*, which with great prudence they did Expend for the safety and defence of the Revolution: nor were the People Drunk or Mad: for no Man, Woman, or Child, was hurt by them even in the very Convulsion of changing the Government; nay the very Papists then in Office, and others who were justly suspected of designs of betraying the Country to King *James's* faithful Allie, the French King had not a hair hurt, except by the fright their own guilt occasioned; and these Revolutioners must either be very sober or loving in their drink, or these *Jacobites* had never scaped being *Devittied* by a sufficiently provoked People, who had the Power, but more grace than to use it.

False Assertions without proof are sufficiently answered by denying them. This northern forehead answers himself: for the Libeller says, *the people cry'd out that they disowned all Government,* and in the next line tells

tells you, *they proclaimed Capt. Leisler their Commander*. But I suppose, he gives this contradiction as a proof of the Peoples being drunk ; to be against all manner of Government, and choose a Governour in the same breath. 'Tis likewise notoriously false, that no other Commission'd Officer was amongst them : for most of the Officers of the Militia of the City joyned therein : But had it been true, then Capt. *Leisler* as the only Commission Officer ought to Command them ; and they were just and sober in their choice, as well as prudent in their Trust of so good and faithful a Person. But the fact of this was false, for Capt. *Leisler* though instrumental in shaking off the Tyrannical Government, did not believe he had a Title to govern longer than the Peoples Resolutions were known ; and therefore circular Letters were carry'd by Coll. *Depeyster* and Capt. *De Brayn* to the several Counties ; whose Freeholders chose their Representatives, who being met appointed Capt. *Leisler* Commander in Chief under their Hands and Seals, and appointed several to be of his Council, under the name of a Committee of Safety to preserve the Publick Peace of the Province : Who did it so effectually, that those divested of the Governing power had no other harm done to their persons ; and the late Lieutenant Governour was permitted to withdraw himself whither he pleased. And here I must remark that he fared much better than Sir. *Edmund Andros* at *Boston*, who was made close Prisoner and sent home to *England*, and yet no man was Executed or attainted there for that act of Loyal Violence.

Boston having proclaimed King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, and *New York* Fort and Government possess'd by Loyal *Leisler* and his party, and the Lieutenant Governour withdrawn out of the Province, then the Libeller saith, *That the late Council and their Convention o. Justices of the Peace & Officers, had a great mind so proclaim the King & Queen, whom they never had declared for, and we must take his word for it : but he owns the Loyalists did proclame them, but saith, it was very disorderly. I observe what ever made for the Revolution, or against the late King James, is very displeasing to the Scribler: For when the People took the Government out of their Arbitrary betrayers hands, he saith, they were drunk or mad ; & now the proclaiming of the King & Queen, was very disorderly, in neither of which he gives one instance : [Pag. 7.]* But thank God, they were proclaimed, & their goodness will pardon small disorders which were the effects of Loyal Zeal. Although the *Jacobites* will never forgive them for it. Some of which Council and Magistrates went

went to Coll. *Bayard's* house and drank and rejoiced that *Leister* had done what they never could have the heart to do, nor made one step towards. And we may know what kidney these drinkers were of, by whose Wine they drank: For Coll. *Bayard* having been a complying tool all King *James's* Arbitrary Reign, you shall judge of the rest by his opinion of the happy Revolution, in his letter to Mr. *West* of the 14th of January 1689, 90. Wherein he calls them *Philistines*, calls *Leister* and his Loyal party, *the Arch Rebel and his hellish crew*; wishes he had a sufficient number to suppress the Rebels, calls them usurpers of the Government and calls Sir. *Edmund Andross*, his Excellency, and calls his friends Loyal; and the whole tenour of the Letter is to keep up King *James's* title to admit his Commissions of Government to be of force, to brand all that declared for the Prince of Orange, with the black name of Rebels; by which he owned King *James* was still in his heart, and had he power equal to his will, would have kept him still on the Throne, and therefore we may judge of his and his Companies joy, on this occasion, and whose Health they drank: which, eight years after, they tell us was King *WILLIAM'S* and Queen *MARY'S*.

His Majesties Proclamation to confirm *Sheriffs, Collectors, &c.* in their Offices, being Published, the Convention removed *Matthew Plowman* a Papist from being Collector, but this is now when Capt. *Leister* had rescued the Government, was possess'd of the Fort and had proclaimed King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*. Then the Convention (who had done none of these things and were angry at those who did) they removed a Papist from his Office, about the middle of June, who was permitted by them to act above two Moneths from the time that the Lieutenant Governor and Council resolved to remove Papists from Offices; which (as the Libeller in the first page of his Letter saith) was the beginning of April: they kept him in as long as they could, and now to mend the matter, they put others in his place of the same principles as to King *James*, of which the famous *Bayard* aforementioned was the Ringleader. And the Libeller brags, *that they were the first in the Province that took the Oaths to Their Majesties, appointed by Act of Parliament*: It may be true; but it is as true, that they were the last and backwardest to assist in the Revolution, or declare for the Prince of Orange, which they never did; but afterwards pursued to death those that had done it. They were indeed most forward to take Oaths, when they were to gain by them, and to have the fingering of the Revenue.

Revenue. For the carrying of the purse they will deny their old Master King *James*; not out of hatred to him, but love to Money; being bound by solemn Oath to be true to their own interest; which Oath binds them closer than any Oath of Allegiance.

These worthy Commissioners of the Revenue sat in the Custom-house, but Capt. *Leisler* with the Inhabitants who had possession of the Government and Fort, demanded of them by what Authority they pretended to act; who refusing to give Capt. *Leisler* any Account they offered to turn him out of the Custom-house by force; on which tumult (made by three *Jacobites*) a guard of Inhabitants from the Fort came to defend their Captain. And the People in the Streets were so enraged at Coll. *Bayard* (who they knew was as inveterate as any Papist against the Revolution) that they had certainly tore him to pieces, had not the good temper of Capt. *Leisler* been his protector, who was the only person capable of saving him in that extremity, and favoured his escape, and let him live to have afterwards a hand in the Murdering his deliverer: So that the Violence of Armed men and naked Swords, beating the Commissioners from the Custom-house, was very modestly done, for no man was hurt, not so much as a skin broke of those who deserved the halter; but they are still alive; some of them to watch another occasion to betray their Country, when they can get a Popish King of *England* to assist them.

[Pag. 8.] Captain *Leisler* finding several Papists and false Protestants in the Town, like a prudent Officer kept good guards, sent parties to prevent any Conspiracy they might make to resume the Government; and to preserve the Peace; which was daily attempted to be broke by declaring for King *James*, and his Governour Sir *Edmund Andross*, and denying the Authority of the People, and Capt. *Leisler* insulted by them, on which it was wisely done of Capt. *Leisler* to secure in the Fort those whom he found so troublesome to the publick Peace, and as the heads of them he imprisoned the afore-mentioned famous Coll. *Bayard* and Mr. *Nichols*, but without barbarity they were confined, and not in a nasty Goal, but in handsome lodgings, such as now are thought proper for the Captain of the Guard, the Store keeper and the Secretary of the Province to lodge and keep Office in. It is true that Coll.

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Bayard

Bayard was put in Irons, as he well deserved for his aversion to the Revolution, disturbing the Peace, and attacking Capt. *Leisler* (then Commander in Chief) in the open Street, as appears by several credible Oaths. Nor could it be safe to admit such firebrands to Bail; and therefore they were kept close from doing mischief, which is the part of all good Governments to do, and was most necessary in this Revolution.

Captain *Leisler* with the Committee of safety (appointed by the Representatives of the Freeholders of the several Counties of the Province) having published their Declaration for the Prince of *Orange* the Protestant Religion, and the *English* Laws and Liberties, they thought it prudent to discriminate the Well affected from the Enemy, and therefore Summoned all the Inhabitants of the City to the Fort, to sign their names to such a Declaration as owned the Authority of the Prince of *Orange*. And the refusers must justly by him and all mankind be deemed Enemies to the Revolution, to His Majesty, and their Country. And is this a crime. to know the Sheep from the Goats, or to take all Reasonable methods for the safety of the then Government: but the Libeller is angry at every prudent step was taken, nor is he satisfied, although it is above Seven years since he was gorg'd with their innocent blood which he had a hand in shedding.

It is notoriously false that Capt. *Leisler* opposed the Collecting of the Revenue; indeed he was not willing a Papist should run away with our Protestant Kings Money, nor did he think it safe in *Bayards* &c hands. But the Committee of safety (and not Capt. *Leisler*) appointed Mr. *De Lanoy* (in whom they durst confide) to that trust, who received no Customs until December following, when His Majesties orders arrived; till then he took only notes from the Merchants to pay the Customs when demanded. And 'tis well known that Mr. *De Lanoy* gave a fair and true Account of his Receipts and payments of the Customs to Governour *Shaughbater*: whereby it appears he had expended five hundred Pounds of his own Money above the Money of the Revenue, for the Kings Service and the support of the Revolution; which Money is not repaid him to this day through the iniquity of some *Jacobites* afore-mentioned, who crept into power, and who have thereby gratified their revenge on men of greater sense and Loyalty than themselves.

On the tenth of December one *Riggs* brought His Majesties Letters which were delivered to Capt. *Leisler*, as they ought according to their direction; for Coll. *Nicholson* (to whom they were first directed) had withdrawn himself out of the Province, and in his absence the Letters were directed to such as for the time being took care for the preservation of the Peace and Administering the Laws; which was none other but Capt. [*Page 9.*] *Leisler*, who was appointed thereto by the Representatives of the Freeholders of the several Countyes of the Province, and had the Command of the Fort; nor could those who called themselves of the Council be intitled thereto, for they were the Persons that were made use of in the late Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, to the ever-turning of all Laws, and Civil Rights, and who gav. Occasion, for the Revolution in *New York*, and did never declare for the Prince of *Orange*.

These Letters from His Majesty fully confirming Capt. *Leisler* in the Government, whereto he was chosen by the People's Representatives; he endeavour'd to execute his trust faithfully, and on such an Emergency it was the greatest wisdom and prudence to find Money to support the Government, which he did as regularly as the time would permit, by and with the consent of the General Assembly of the Province fairly chosen by the Freeholders; which this seducer falsely insinuates were only Selected and Appointed by Capt. *Leisler*. And by and with their advice and consent Taxes were raised and properly applyed. And 'tis observable the Libeller tells us, that Capt. *Leisler* applyed these Sums to his own private use, and yet in the very next words tells us, it was to maintain said disorders, allowing private men Eighteen Pence per day: by disorders he means the Government reposed by the People and confirmed by King *WILLIAM* in Capt. *Leisler*, which had disordered and routed the former Slavery the People lay under; for it was disorder to none but Papists and Jacobites. And the Eighteen pence a day was for the private use of the private men to whom it was paid, for their subsistence in defending the Government: and their defence was indeed of private use to Capt. *Leisler*, as comprehended in the Publick general good thereof: But the Revenue was not sufficient to defray so great a charge, had not Capt. *Leisler* expended great Sums out of his own private Estate, as others concern'd with him likewise did, for which he was repayed with a barbarous Death;

Death, through the means of men who will never venture their Lives or Estates to serve their Prince, Country, or Protestant Religion.

[*Pag. 10*] Nor cou'd Coll. *Bayard* and Mr. *Nichols* complain of their aforementioned confinement in the Fort, since they would fly in the face of Government, and give such vent to their inveterate passions as appears by the Record of their Commitment, and Coll. *Bayard's* confession in his Petition to Capt. *Leisler*.

But it is point blank a lye, nor was it ever, or can be proved that Capt. *Leisler* gave directions to any man to plunder Coll. *Bayard's* house, nor was any thing of that sort done by his order to any house, but Commands given to the contrary, and the Souldiers were compelled to restore what could be made appear they had forcibly taken from any man. Even so small a matter as a Hat taken out of the house of Mr. *Lambert*, was restored to him.

Coll. *Cortland* and others might leave their houses and families, but they would have had no occasion for so doing had they peaceably and quietly minded their own affairs and submitted to the Government; for all such had no manner of disturbance given them, but were protected.

[*Pag. 11.*] The Protestant Ministers the Libeller saith, *could not scape Capt. Leislars Malice and Cruelty*: I am afraid those Ministers he mentioned, were Popish Trumpets, to Preach up the damnd Doctrins of *Passive Obedience*, and *Non Resistance*, and to noise in our Ears with their accursed breath, *that we ought patiently to hold our Protestant Throats to be cut by the Command of a Popish King*: and when Capt. *Leisler* with his friends had taken hold of that wonderful Deliverance offered immediately from God to Redeem His People from Slavery upon Earth, and Popish Damnation in Hell; to have false Priests of *Baal* get up, and use their wicked Eloquence, to make the People believe a lye, even in the house of the God of Truth; and from the Pulpit, to tell these Captains of our Temporal Salvation to their faces, that being faithful to their God, their Country, and their Laws, in the defence of the Holy Protestant Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of English men, and their thankful declaring for the most glorious Prince upon Earth their Deliverer; was the blackest of Treason and Rebellion.

Rebellion. Such Apostasy and base Treachery hath deserved, and often met with severer rebukes than the friendly Verbal admonition given by Capt. *Leisler* to the blind Seer, and had nothing of the Malice and Cruelty in it of the Libeller, who wrote so false a Pamphlet: and so the other time-serving Priests (who were Protestant shooting horns to draw on Popery) might have been more quiet, and left the result of the Revolution to Divine Providence, and not pass such hard Centures as to arraign blood and accuse of Rebellion, all that would accept of Gods deliverance from the two greatest plagues of mankind, Popery and Slavery. But I hope they have repented and will be sav'd, otherwise whilst they Preach to others they themselves will be cast away.

'Tis true Capt. *Leisler* sent to the Merchants of the Town to supply the Garrison with Provisions and other necessaries, and sent without distinction to all People who had Stores; otherwise the Garrison might have perished: but he honestly gave them Credit in the Kings Books, and they have since (for the greatest part) been satisfied; and Capt. *Leisler* (as he ought) did order forcibly to break their Ware-houses open, where they were refractory, and refused on so great Emergency to afford support for the Government; but exact Accompts were kept of all such goods, and Entries made in Books kept for that purpose; so that it was not plunder, (as the Libeller falsely calls it) but they were to be satisfied, and paid for the same. And I believe it was never known in the Memory of man, that ever a Revolution, or change of Government, was more regular: or where Military power would not force Victuals where it was denied them, when they wanted it: and therefore it was for the special Service of King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, to keep alive those that were the only persons in that Province, who declared early for Them, and owned Their Authority. Nor can any proof upon Earth be brought (except such as the Libeller) that one Farthings Value of goods was ever converted to the private use of Capt. *Leisler*, or Transported by him to the *West Indies*, but the imposture of the whole book depends on such positive falsehoods.

[Pag. 12.] The Accompt of *Thirteen Thousand nine hundred fifty nine* Pounds of damages done the Province is made up by the Libeller himself: for no man living of truth, hath ever demonstrated that Capt. *Leisler* or his friends, ever made pillage of any mans Estate, but

but I believe the Libeller reckons that he and his *Jacobite* party had so much damage by the Revolution, which they might Arbitrarily have extorted from the Kings good Subjects, if it had not happened. Good damages! which I am glad of with all my heart. At this rate pray what damages had the Popish Clergy of *England* and *Ireland*, by King *WILLIAMS* hindering their being restored to *Abbys*, *Monasterys* and *Peter Pence*; but it is better that the *Jacobites* should suffer damage of their Estates and Lives too, than an *English* Protestant People should have the damage of loosing their Laws and Religion, their Properties and their Souls. And as for Coll. *Willeys* losses, which the Libeller magnifies, he could not put a particular Value on them, they were so small. Had they been considerable, he would since have made a particular complaint, to have reparation, which he never did, nor had occasion for; but had he been ruined he would not have been pitied by good men, because he so far forgot that he was an *English* man and Protestant: that he Executed an Illegal Commission, and raised Forces to destroy all those that declared for our Deliverer, that, we might return to our Vow, which was a Dog trick in him.

And thus the Libeller expatiates on Capt. *Leislers* Arbitrary proceedings over His Majesties Subjects Persons and Estates, against the fundamental Laws of the Land; but he should have considered that all the fundamental Laws of the Land were wholly subverted and trampled upon by the Hellish, Popish, Arbitrary Government, Established by King *James's* Commission; so that Capt. *Leisler* found no fundamental Laws to transgress; and was forced in discharge of his trust from the People, and by and with the consent of those appointed by their Representatives, to use these violent methods which Heaven gave him the power to make use of to restore those fundamental Laws, which were abolished by tools of the same temper with the Libeller.

Major *Ingoldesby* a Captain of a foot Company, arrives near two years after, saith the Libeller, And with several Gentlemen of the Council, sends to Capt. *Leisler*; that for the preservation of the Peace, he might continue to Command in the Fort, until Coll. *Slaughter's* Arrival, and only desired that Major *Ingoldesby* and the Kings Soldiers might be permitted to quarter, and refresh themselves in the City: but instead of complying,

complying, he in passion told Mr. Brooke, on his acquainting him, that Mr. Phillips, Coll. Bayard, Col. Cortland were of the Council, that they were Papist Dogs, and if the King should send Three Thousand of them, he would cut them off; and without cause Proclaimed open War; on which said major Ingoldesby perswaded several of the Inhabitants to joyn with him merely for self preservation. On which several great and small Shot from the Fort killed and wounded several of His Majesties good Subjects, who made no opposition.

This whole Paragraph I shall shew to be the greatest complication of Iniquity, and fit to be the production of a Monster begat by an Incubus on a Scotch Wuch, who had kindled his malice against Truth from the flames he put to the holy Bible, thereby to become the Adopted Son of the father of Lyes.

For major Ingoldesby having no Commission, nor Authority to Command, on his Arrival, took on him the Title of Commander in Chief, usurp'd a shew of Government, calling a Council, and Issuing peremptory orders, as appears by the Records of the Council Book; nay quite contrary to the Romantick Account of the Libeller, he sent a demand under his own hand, which I have seen, wherein he acknowledges Capt. Leisters offer to him of his own Houses in the City for the Accommodation of himself and Officers, and to appoint fit Quarters for the Souldiers; which major Ingoldesby under his hand denies to accept of, saying, he demanded the Fort from him, which unless Capt. Leister would deliver up to him, he would esteem him as an Enemy to King WILLIAM and Queen MART. I have likewise seen Capt. Leisters Letter to major Ingoldesby full of Civility, and true Reason, wherein he acquaints him, that he held the Fort and Commanded by Virtue of a trust reposed in him by the People, and confirmed by His Majesty, and assuring him, that if he had any Commission from His Majesty, or any Instruction, or Order from Coll. Slaughter appointed Governour of the Province, on his producing it, The Fort should be immediately delivered to him, but desired to be excused from resigning his trust, til he found one qualified and authorized to receive it from him. But this was not satisfaction to major Ingoldesby who was prevailed with to take the Government on him in opposition to Capt. Leister, and as Governour in Chief (although never Impowred by King or People) he issues orders

orders to the several Counties to be ready to attend and assist in opposing *Leister*, and his party with Arms; which was the proclaiming open War; and pursuant thereto, he sends his Rounds in the night, and ordered or permitted his Rounds at all hours to pass the guards and centrys on the Walls of the Fort, and not to make answer, but by reproachful Language, when challenged by them, in order to provoke the drawing of blood, and engaging the People in a Civil War: and farther, major *Ingoldesby* ordered all the men under his Command to wear Marks on their Arms, to distinguish them from those who joyned with Capt. *Leister*.

During this Revolution and Civil War, I am told not above two persons were killed, which happiness attended the moderate temper of Capt. *Leister* and the Committee of safety, who could not be raised to punish the Insolence of the Tory party, suitable to what they gave just occasion for.

Soon after, viz. in March, about a Month or five Weeks after major *Ingoldesby's* usurpation, Coll. *Slaughter* Arrived, who Summoned the Fort late at night, and, contrary to the Libellers assertion, it was never desired to be delivered: but the delivery suspended till next Morning, it not being proper (according to Military Rules) to deliver a Fort in the night; and then it was Surrendered by Capt. *Leister*, who waiting on the Captain General Coll. *Slaughter*, instead of thanks for the faithful Service he had done His Majesty in defending the Fort and Province from the French (our professed Enemies) and the Treachery of *Papists* and *Jacobites* amongst our selves, was immediately by his order Seized with Mr. *Milbourn*, and others of the Loyal party, and bound over to answer at the next Supreme Court of Judicature; where Capt. *Leister* and Mr. *Milbourn* pleaded to the Jurisdiction of the Court, That whereas he was in possession of the Fort of the Government by the choice of the People, and confirmed in it by the Kings Majesties Letters, that he was not bound by Law to answer for his Mal Administration in Government, to any Court or Authority, but to His Majesty, who had intrusted him; but this was over-ruled by the Violence of the Court, without reason or Law, and as Mures they were found guilty of High Treason and Murder; and although a Reprieve was granted them by Coll. *Slaughter*, until His Majesties pleasure should be known in the matter; yet the Violence of

of the *Jacobine* party (of which sort were most of *Capt. Leister* Judges and Officers of the Court -) was such that they gave no rest to *Coll. Slaughter*, until by their Importunity they prevailed with him to sign the Dead Warrant. And they were Executed accordingly. So that the representation of the matter, with an account of their Reprieve reached His Majesty at the same time with the account of their Execution and Death. So fell *Capt. Leister*, and *Mr. Milbourn* men of known Integrity, Honesty and Loyalty; and by a pretended course of Law, contrary to all Law condemned, where their Judges were most of them violent Enemies of the happy Revolution, and therefore resolved to revenge themselves on these Gentlemen who were the most Early and Zealous Instruments of it; and who had first expended great part of their Estates, and then suffered Martyrdom for King* *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*, their Religion and Laws. The proofs and papers referred to in this account remain in the hands of *Mr. Jacob Leister* only Son of *Capt. Jacob Leister* the Martyr to *Jacobine Revenge*. The proof that *Capt. Leister* was legally Governour of *New-York*. That major *Ingoldsby* was but a bare Captain of Foot, and had no other command in that Province, nor authority to demand the Fort from *Capt. Leister*; The proof that *Capt. Leister* did as a good Subject deliver the Fort to *Coll. Slaughter* upon demand, and his Justification, is immediately expressed in the Act of Parliament of *England* which reverses their Attainders, and restores their Families in Blood and Estate.

So that this is the full and true account of this Tragedy; *New-York* lay under the Curse of an absolute Government by King *James's* Commission to *Sir. Edmund Andross*; the people took courage on the first News of the Revolution in *England*, and shook off the Oppressors, and declared for the Prince of *Orange*; the Lieutenant Governour, the Council, and Justices of the Peace, which met and called themselves a Convention (being Officers constituted by King *James*) would not declare for the Prince of *Orange*; Wherefore the people did not think themselves safe in their hands, but seized upon the Fort, and chose *Capt. Leister* Commander of the Fort until Sir *Edmund Andross* had procured a return of Representatives of the Freeholders of the several Counties of the Province, who

on their meeting making a Declaration for His present Majesty, did under their Hands and Seals constitute Capt. *Leisler* Commander in Chief until the Kings pleasure should be known ; and likewise appointed him a Council, by the name of a Committee of Safety. And in these Persons the Government was lodged, who proceeded to support themselves by the most moderate methods could be devised.

The Lieutenant Governour hereupon withdraws out of the Province, major *Ingoldesby* Arrives with Authority over none but his Foot Company ; and yet demands the Fort, which Capt. *Leisler* durst not deliver to him without betraying his Trust both to the King and People ; major *Ingoldesby* usurps the Title of *Commander in Chief*, he Issues Orders and Warrants to the People to rise in Arms to assist him to wrest the Fort out of Capt. *Leislers* hands, and provokes Capt. *Leislers* men in the Fort to Acts of hostility, by which means one or two men were accidentally killed. Coll. *Slaughter* Arrives, demands the Fort, which was surrendered to him immediately ; the Persons of Capt. *Leisler* and Mr. *Milbourn* are Seized, and soon after brought to Tryal ; their plea to the Jurisdiction of the Court (which could not by Law try them for Mal Administration in Government) violently over ruled, and they Condemned as Mutes, for High Treason and Murder ; they were Reprieved until His Majesties pleasure should be known ; and notwithstanding the Reprieve, the Warrant of Execution Signed, and they Executed.

But the Enemies to King *WILLIAM*, and consequently to these Gentlemen, had not sufficiently gratified their malice, by these mens innocent blood : but they labour in *England* to get a Justification for themselves, and a confirmation that the said unjust Judgment was according to Law ; and when His Majesty was in *Flanders* and several Ministers of State were in place and trust in the Committee of Trade, which His Majesty hath since thought fit to remove from His Council and their Offices : a report was obtained from the Committee of Trade affirming that these Loyalists were Condemned and Executed according to Law. But however the said Committee represented their Sons as fit objects of Her Majesties mercy, to be restored to their Fathers Estates ; which Her Majesty was graciously pleased to grant. And these malignant Confederates so far

far prevailed with the Assembly of *New York* to compliment and flatter their new Governour Coll. *Slaughter*, as to pass several Votes against the whole proceedings of the happy Revolution, and to excuse the barbarous Severity of the Illegal Condemnation and bloody Execution which he had ordered. And this was the State of the Case until the Parliament of *England* took the matter into their Consideration, and the Honorable the House of Commons in the Sixth and Seventh year of His present Majesties Reign appointed a Committee to examine all parties in relation to Capt. *Leisters* Execution, where they were heard by their Council at Law, and where Mr. *Dudley* (who formerly applyed to get Money by Magistracy and Government in *New-England*, and set up for a Judge in matters of Blood in the Tryal of Capt. *Leister* at *New York*) was heard to make his defence, where his Cobb-Webb Eloquence was too thin to put a veil over so black an Action, as created horror in the minds of that Honorable and Numerous Committee; who reported the matter fully to the House, and thereupon an Act of Parliament passed the Royal Assent, wherein His Majesty, the Lords, and Commons of *England* do recite the Legality of Capt. *Leisters* Authority, and justify his proceedings in the Government, and more especially his refusing to deliver the Fort to major *Ingollesby*, being the Fact for which he was Condemned; and do absolutely reverse the Attainders and restore the Blood and Estates of Capt. *Leister*, and those persons Condemned and Executed in *New York*; which Act of Parliament is Printed at the end of this Treatise.

And now after all, it being about Eight years since these men died, when the Grave and Time should have buried the Persons and Memories of these good, but unfortunate Persons, that no Revenge should have room to desire a farther gratification; and when the Animinities between those of a *Dutch* extraction (who are the most numerous, Loyal and Sober Subjects of that Province) and the few *English* (who were most averse and backward in the Revolution, but violent and bloody in the Execution of Capt. *Leister*, as well as the most dissolute in their Morals) in this Province, had time to cool, and might by a good Government have been wholly healed. After all, I say, to have this fire again blown up, to open these Wounds and to open the Graves of the Dead, to disturb the Living;

was such an artifice of the Devil as must give a more than usual abhorrence in good minds; which leads me to give an account of the Occasion, the time, manner, and design of the Publication of this treacherous *Letter*, and withall take some notice of the supposed author.

It is evident in *New-York*, and will soon be made appear to His Majesty, that the late Government of *New-York* under the Administration of *Coll. Fletcher*, was a perfect sink of Corruption. And although he was exalted to that Government from a poor mean refugee of *Ireland*; yet he soon forgot the hand that raised him, and to satisfy his Soul, his Idol Gain, he made a fast friendship with the few *Papists*, *Jacobites*, and dissolute *English* of *New-York*, who had opposed the Revolution and revenged themselves on *Capt. Leisler*; and who to be supported in their hatred to the Loyal *Williamites*, and connived at in their open breach of all the Acts of Trade, found great advantage to reward *Coll. Fletcher's* friendship by Presents from themselves, and gifts from Pirates; and complied with him, and consented to all things proposed to them by him; to the squandering of the Kings Revenue and (to the great dishonour of the King) destroying all conveniences of a Succeeding Governour; and disposing of all the Lands in the Province, that not one Inch is left to be given in reward to any who may by their Services to His Majesty, deserve; or to encourage new Settlers, and that in such quantities as will wholly make it impossible ever to People the Province; giving to one man Seventy Miles in length; and to several Fifty, Forty and Thirty Miles in length, and several Miles in breadth; with many other unjust gross Mal Administrations.

On this bottom *Coll. Fletcher* joyned in the mortal hatred to the lovers of the Loyal *Leisler*; and when several condemned to dye for their motions in that Revolution were order'd by Her gracious Majesty of Sacred Memory to be discharged, *Coll. Fletcher* did it as an act of grace of his own, and told them that although he releated them, yet he could call for them when he pleased, and hang them. And some time after told them, That they dealt worse by him, than the Lepers cleans'd by our Saviour, some of which returned to thank him, but none of them ever did, meaning none
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of them had given him a wicked Bribe or reward, which he was used to receive. These Truths Mr. Beckman and Mr. Goutertsen will attest. Coll. Fletcher likewise paid that disregard to the Act of Parliament of England (Reversing the Attainders and restoring Capt. Leister and others Condemned, in Blood and Estate) that he refused the Widow Leister to be repossessed of her Estate ; nor had she that justice done her, during Coll. Fletchers Government, nor untill my Lord Bellmont granted her a Writ of Possession ; which was a year and half after she was Entitled to it by Act of Parliament in England, Reprinted at New-York. He likewise wholly discouraged the generality of those who were active in the Revolution, putting few or none of them into Office, or Employment ; and wholly adhering to those that gratified his Vanity, Pride, and Covetousness. For which in return he gave them countenance in all matters, as well as connivance at their unlawful Trade.

His Majesty having appointed the Earl of Bellmont Governour of New-York (whose great Honour and Justice Coll. Fletcher both knew and dreaded) some considerable time passed between his Patents being passed ; and his beginning his Voyage, which Coll. Fletcher took the advantage of, therein to contrive methods to divide the People of the Government, that in Publick disorder he himself might escape having strict Scrutiny made into the Corruptions of his Government ; he therefore not satisfied with crushing the Loyalists, during his Government, was resolved to assist the Publishing this Libel, which might give such an Account of the Revolution of New-York as should Exasperate to the highest degree, all that were concern'd in it and at the same time assured his Jacobite party, that it was necessary such a book should be Licensed, to possess the Strangers who came with my Lord, with such falsehoods as were useful to their party ; my Lord being, as he feared, inclined to favour whoever was well inclined to the Loyalty of Leister. So that, as is supposed, one Mr. Junys was employed to frame this Libel, who was Clerk of the Bloody Court that Condemned Leister ; a person most in the graces of Coll. Fletcher, who was in Scotland condemned to dye for *Atbelfin* and *Burning the Brole*, and was banished to New-York ; where he was by Contribution freed from being a Servant, and permitted to teach School, and being somewhat a Scholar, and having good natural sense made

use of his wicked parts to teach Blasphemy, and Atheism, and to ridicule Sober Religion, till he got a Reputation amongst the dissolute Church of *England* men, whose Liurgie he then would, and still doth gabble over with great seeming devotion, and uplitted eyes a few hours after he had been Blaspheming Christianity: but his form of saying the Common Prayer sufficiently recommended him to Coll. *Fletcher*, so that the Secretary *Clarkson* was prevailed on to make him his Deputy for a Hundred Pounds a year Rent; and Coll. *Fletcher* gave him Fifty Pounds *per Annum* Salary out of the Kings Revenue as Clerk of the Council, and through all his Government made use of his vile Service, and afterwards recommended him to the Earl of *Belmont*, as one of the honestest men in the Government; although at the same time he knew the said *Famison* was actually married to two Wives then living. This man so qualified was intrusted to do this piece of Service, but tis believed the aforementioned Coll. *Bayard* gave him some assistance in furnishing him with some Materials, & without doubt according to orders, no falsehood was balk'd that could serve the cause, and so this Libel was hammered out, in which there is scarce a Paragraph, but what contains one or more Scurrilous Untruths, which are delivered with an *Highland* modesty and peremptorily affirmed to be truth without any proof, on purpose to vilify the Transactions of the Revolution, and Massacre over again the Reputation of those, whose persons were Murdered Eight years before for their Loyalty, and withal the Villany proper to persons who hate the present Government, are added to this Account some Servile Votes of the Assembly of *New York* made to flatter their new Governour Coll. *Saunders*, who signed these Loyalists Warrant for Execution, and likewise is Printed an order or report (God knows how obtained) of the Committee of Trade for Justifying the said Condemnation and Execution. But this Libeller, contrary to his duty, to truth, allegiance to His Majesty, and respect to Laws (for he could not hide his Virulency to the present Government) takes no notice of the Act of Parliament of *England* Reversing the Attainders of these Condemned Gentlemen, which gives the Lye to his whole Libel, justifies Capt. *Leisler* as Lawful Governour of *New York*, and in full effect expresses that he was basely Murdered, contrary to all Law and Reason, for doing his duty as His Majesties Lawful Governour of *New York*: which is the sence of the words of the said Act.

A&A. But the Libeller did as he was ordered, and the book raised the flame: it was designed to raise, and was carryed to the Prets by Mr. *Brook* (who although a Refugee from *Ireland* and preferred by King *WILLIAM* to be Collector and Receiver General of the Customs and Revenue of *New-York*, and a new-comer thither, took upon him to be one of the bloody Judges of this Royalist; but is since for betraying his said Trust and neglect of his duty, suspended from all his Employes, even that of being Judge, and one of the Council, by the Right Honorable the Earl of *Bellmont*, who was his Security for his Collectors place to the Commissioners of the Customs of *England*, but could not bear his treachery to that Trust which he himself had been Instrumental to advance him to. And Mr. *Wilson* late Sheriff of *New-York* a hot headed despicable fellow, who to serve the Tory party, contrary to his Oath, made a most false Return of Assembly men to serve for the Counties of *New-York*, and *Orange* in the last Assembly. For which palpable breach of his Oath and Trust, His Excellency the Earl of *Bellmont* with consent of the Council suspended him from being Sheriff of *New-York*. But when this Libel was so midwived to the Prets by the Kings Collector (who was likewise one of the Council) and this fore-sworn Sheriff. Then Coll. *Fletcher* calls the Council where 'tis proposed (as appears by the Minute of Council) that a book being found at the Printers, giving an Account of the Revolution of *New-York* and containing nothing but Truth. 'Tis resolved *Namque contra-dicente*, that it should be Printed. But who were the Council who consented to this great piece of Service to His Majesty? Why Coll. *Fletcher*, who is supposed to have given orders for its being Written. Coll. *Bayard* of whom enough is said plainly and truly. Mr. *Brook* who carryed it to the Prets and was one of *Leisters* Judges; Mr. *Pinhorn*, another of *Leisters* Judges (who is since removed by His Excellency the Earl of *Bellmont* from being Judge and of the Council, for speaking most Scandalous false and reproachful words of His most Sacred Majesty King *WILLIAM*, and for protecting and concealing in his house a Popish Priest) and some other Enemies of the Revolution. So that (to omit the false sordid flatteries given to Coll. *Fletcher*, which are impertinently added by the Libeller) it is apparent that there was a wicked conspiracy, by this book to give distraction (by Printing it just before the Earl of

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of *Bellomont's* Arrival at *New-York*) and thereby to divide the People and so to disturb Affairs under his Government, that there should be no time or opportunity of quickly inquiring into the Corruptions of Coll. *Fletcher's* managements.

This was the time and design of its Publication, these the qualities of the supposed Authors, and of the Persons who carried it to the Press, and after this manner (by Coll. *Fletcher* and the afore mentioned of the Council) it was permitted to be Printed ; so that it is no wonder, that this book was a Mine Sprung from Hell to blow up the Peace of this Province, when so many Sorts of Betral in Office and Authority joyned in its Contrivance and Publication, who must keep to their nature and not stick at any plain falsehood (although it fly in the face of the King, Lords and Commons of *England*, and Truth it self) that may Exasperate and raise a flame, and if possible Murder over again those Martyrs for their Loyalty, Capt. *Leister* and Mr. *Milbourn*, who were barbarously Executed for bravely Asserting the Rights and Liberties of *Englishmen* against Popish and Arbitrary Government ; and for their Early and Sincere Affection to His most Sacred Majesty KING *WILLIAM*, whom GOD send long to Reign.

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